

# THE COMRADE

## Stray Leaves from the Note Book of a Labor Agitator

By Eugene V. Debs

Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Party



**T**WENTY-NINE years ago on February 27th last I first joined a labor union. On that day my name was enrolled as a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and the very hour of my initiation I became an agitator. It seemed to be the very thing I had been looking for—and I was ready for it. The whole current of my life was changed that day. I have a distinct recollection of the initiation and can still see the faces of the twenty-one “tallow-pots” who made up the group of charter members, nearly all of whom, in the mutations of railroad life, have since gone over the range. A new purpose entered my life, a fresh force impelled me as I repeated the obligation to serve the “brotherhood,” and I left that meeting with a totally different and far loftier ambition than I had ever known before.

I had served my apprenticeship in the railroad shops and being the only “cub” at the time, knew what it was to have a dozen bosses at once and all the grievances I could carry without spilling.

Later, as a locomotive fireman, I learned something of the hardships of the rail in snow, sleet and hail, of the ceaseless danger that lurks along the iron highway, the uncertainty of employment, scant wages and altogether trying lot of the workingman, so that from my very boyhood I was made to feel the wrongs of labor, and from the consciousness of these there also sprang the conviction that one day they would all be righted.

On the day I became a member of the union I was also elected one of its officers and for twenty-two years without a break, official position in some capacity claimed my service.

It was during this time that I organized the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen, now the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and helped to organize the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association and a number of other organizations. The American Railway Union was the best of them all. It united all the workers in the service. That is why the railroad corporations declared it to be the worst of all.

For two years after the Pullman strike I was shadowed by railroad detectives, East, West, North and South. The companies were determined to break up the union. We tried organizing in secret. It would not work. The spy could not be kept out. At Providence, R. I., I organized at midnight in my bedroom at the hotel. The men had come from different directions, one at a time. The next morning they all were called into the office, paid off and discharged. At New Decatur, Ala., we had 111 members obligated in secret, one at a time. A member so admitted was not supposed to know who else belonged. One morning eighteen of the more prominent of these were summoned to the office. The roll of the one hundred and eleven offenders was read off to

them. For the first time they knew who their fellow-members were. The officials had ferreted out the information and gave it to them from the company records. The eighteen leaders were discharged outright. The remaining eighty-eight were ordered to produce their final withdrawal cards from the American Railway Union within ten days. Hundreds of similar instances might be cited.

The railroad managers of the whole country were up in arms to annihilate the organization. From Maine to Arizona, from Florida to British Columbia their bloodhounds were sniffing for the scent. At Williams, Arizona, two of them who had followed me from Albuquerque attempted to break into my room and in trying to force the door the bolt was sprung so the door could not be opened and I had to arouse the hotel attendants by a succession of yells, one of whom climbed over the transom armed with a screw-driver and removed the lock and bolt so as to release me in time to catch the four o'clock morning train for The Needles. The landlady was up and all was excitement. She knew the detectives and despised them. Her parting words were: “Watch out for the scoundrels or they'll get you yet.” When the train pulled in I got aboard. So did the sleuths. One of them, the smaller of the two, who, as I observed, had a game leg, was quite friendly and offered me an “eye-opener” from a quart bottle. The other who was tall and had but one eye and the most murderous countenance I ever saw, which he kept shaded with the brim of an enormous slouch hat, had nothing to say. At The Needles an incident occurred which will make another story.

The railroad managers had a mortal dread of the A. R. U. They feared its very ghost. As the train stopped at Las Vegas on the return trip the editor of one of the papers got aboard for an interview. He imparted some quiet information he had obtained. Said he, “The wires here have been busy with your name. Not an employee will dare to come near you. The officials have prepared for any possible emergency. The fact is they are quite alarmed. They fear they may have it all over again and even your shadow passing over the line would scare them.”

There was not the least bit of danger. The A. R. U. was riddled with bullets and breathing its last as a railroad union.

The railroads were determined to stamp it out and forever.

It was a dastardly conspiracy against vested interests!

Its chief object was, not to bury the dead, but to unite and emancipate the living.

But instead of stamping it out they stamped it into the living labor movement.

The American Railway Union became the Social Democracy.

Thanks to the railroad companies for driving the union



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Woodstock Jail, where Debs was imprisoned

into politics, working class politics! Most of this power is still latent, but the start has been made and the rest are bound to come.

A little less than two years ago at Trinidad, Colo., I was the guest of the railroad boys. I slept at their boarding house, ate at their table and was once more one of them. Two of them were known for their Damon and Pythias friendship. This is the story briefly told:

Jack had been a local leader in the A. R. U. strike and when it was over was blacklisted and hunted with relentless fury. One night, far from his former home, ragged, half-starved and shivering with cold he sat crouched in the corner of a box-car loaded with machinery and rattling over the rough joints of a western road. Along toward morning he discovered that he was not the sole occupant of the coach. His private car had evidently been invaded during the night. He hailed the intruder.

"Hello, there!"

"Hello, back at you!"

The cut and fashion of their clothes and the general style of their outward appearance were near enough alike to mark them as twins.

"How're you fixed?"

"Not a sou."

"Same here."

"Shake."

Both were traveling under assumed names and both had good cause to be suspicious.

But after awhile their mutual misery dissolved the restraint. They warmed to each other, and they needed to, for they had hunger of the heart as well as the body.

"So you're an old railroad man, eh?"

"That's right!"

"Anything to show for it?"

"Only this, partner, but hobo though I be, I wouldn't take a farm for it."

Saying this, Jack's companion reached in among his rags and pulled out a traveling card of the A. R. U. that looked as far gone as its owner.

The two tramps embraced and vowed their mutual fidelity as the train reached its destination.

Then followed weeks of tramping, privation and hunger pangs. The two became one, sleeping in the same straw-stack at night, covered by the same rags as they plodded wearily along, and sharing the same "handout" along the highway.

Finally Jack, through the influence of an old friend, struck a job. The "pie-card" he bought, his first investment, was for both. When pay-day came every cent was shared. Jack and his friend once more had decent clothes and with Jack's influence his partner soon had a job.

From that day these tramps have been as brothers. Their attachment for each other is beautiful, almost pathetic. The love they bear each other is holy love born of bruised and bleeding hearts crushed beneath the iron hoof of despotic power.

And thus are they who suffer for righteousness rewarded!

What Rockefeller has wealth enough to buy such a royal possession as the priceless heritage of these two tramps?

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Not long ago I stopped at Salamanca, N. Y., the first time in twenty-six years. My first visit was not for my health. I was put off there and it was two days before I managed to get out of town in the caboose of a freight-train. I had the same experience several times before finally reaching Port Jervis, the Mecca of my pilgrimage, where Joshua Leach, the grand master of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, then had his headquarters.

My late visit was different. I was escorted to the opera house with the trades unions and many others in the cheering procession while the band was playing "There'll be a hot time in the old town to-night."

My impression of Salamanca was altogether more favorable than that I received some five and twenty years ago when I started out in callow youth without scrip in my purse to save the world.

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For just one night I was General Manager of a great railroad, though I never received any salary for the service I rendered in that capacity.

The strike on the Great Northern, extending from St. Paul to the coast, was settled on the evening of May 1st, 1894. It was a complete victory for the A. R. U.

President James J. Hill and I had shaken hands and declared the hatchet buried. He said he was glad it was over and assured me that he had no feeling of resentment. As we stood chatting in his office he said: "By the way, Debs, you'll have to be my General Manager to-night, for the men won't go to work except upon your orders." I said: "All right, sir, I'll guarantee that by morning the trains will all be running on schedule time." He seemed to be nettled and I did not blame him when he said: "How about my wages? I too am an employee of the Great Northern Railway. And since everybody gets a raise, where do I come in?" He laughed heartily when I answered: "Join the American Railway Union and we'll see that you get a square deal."

And then I assumed the duties of General Manager. The men all along the line were extremely suspicious. They had been betrayed before and were taking no chances. The chief operator sat at the keys while I dictated the orders. The messages were soon speeding over the wires. At some places there was no trouble. At others there was no little trouble to convince the men that there was no trickery about it and that the orders bearing my signature were genuine.

At last we had every point on the line started except one and the answer from there was: "The whole town is drunk and celebrating. Will be ready for duty in the morning." Nor did they cease celebrating until daylight and then all hands reported for duty.

When I left the Great Northern headquarters all the trains were moving, the shops, yards and offices were throbbing with activity and everybody was happy.

My service as General Manager of the Great Northern



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was entirely satisfactory to President Hill, as he assured me when I left there, but I never applied for membership in the General Managers' Association.

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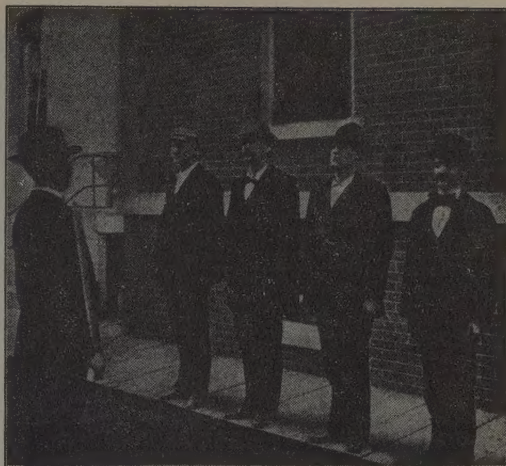
It was not long after this before President Hill and our own members wired me as to my interpretation of certain clauses of the agreement. It was evident that trouble was brewing again. I went to St. Paul on the first train. Our committee was promptly convened, but Mr. Hill could not be found. No one knew where he was. It struck me that delay was dangerous and that prompt action was necessary. We at once summoned Chas. A. Pillsbury, the millionaire miller, since deceased, and a personal friend of Mr. Hill who had taken an active interest in the previous strike and settlement. Mr. Pillsbury and some of his associates came to the hall.

Mr. Pillsbury said if the agreement had been violated he did not know it. He did not know where Mr. Hill was and suggested that we would better wait patiently until he returned. He hoped we would not be rash and that there would be no trouble. When he took his seat I got up. "Mr. Pillsbury," said I, "if Mr. Hill is not here, or if there is not some one here to act for him within thirty minutes, we will tie up the Great Northern from end to end." The hall rang with applause. Within fifteen minutes Mr. Hill was in the hall, we went into a back room and in about thirty minutes more everything was adjusted and for the second time the victory of the A. R. U. was complete.

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In the fall of 1896 I addressed a great political gathering at Duluth, Minn. The trades union banners were for the first time in a political procession. It was a red letter day. The crowd was immense. No hall was large enough and as it was too chilly for out-doors, arrangements were made to hold the meeting in the old street-car stables. The roof was low, but there was ample room and this was what we needed. Just after I got started some man interrupted. Not understanding what he said I paused and asked him to repeat his remark. "I said you're allright," he exclaimed. Within a few feet of him towered a fellow who seemed seven feet tall. His eyes blazed daggers at the first party as he growled, "By G-d, you'd better." The crowd cheered and there was no further interruption that night.

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Debs and other leaders of the great Railway Strike on squad drill

An introduction I once received is good for a hearty laugh every time I recall the incident. There was intense prejudice against me and the young man who had been selected to introduce me to the audience concluded he would try to disarm it. The house was jammed. This was his first experience. He got along quite well till he forgot his lines. And then he closed somewhat abruptly after this fashion: "Mr. Debs is hated by some people because he has been in strikes. This is not right. It is the law of nature to defend yourself. Only a coward will refuse to stand up for his rights. Why, even a dog will growl if you try to deprive him of the bone he is gnawing, a cat will scratch in self-defence, a bee will sting to protect itself, a goat will butt if you get in his way, while you all know what a jack-ass will do if you monkey with him. Ladies and gentlemen, this is Mr. Debs who will now address you."

He brought down the house and was immensely pleased with his first effort on the public platform.

## "THE LITTLE, CHEAP HOUSE IN THE SUBURBS"

By Helen Cary Chadwick

The little, cheap house in the suburbs  
Has a story of its own —  
A story that baffles the teller,  
In a tongue that is yet unknown.

For only the angels have knowledge  
To dip their pens in its flow,  
And only a god has the courage  
To tell of its joy and its woe.

Come, painter! paint us a picture —  
The huddled mass of lines,  
The dull, eye-sickening colors  
Of homes where the pent soul pines.

Where the blank street pierces its tunnel,  
Or winds like a clammy snake —  
Where only the weed and the briar  
Show that nature is still awake.

Or, if set far out in the country,  
Where poverty wrestles with pride,  
The bloom of the sunflower pities,  
The bleeding-heart droops beside;

The voice of the ages crying  
Of liberty or death!

The lilac looks in at the window  
And beats on the little pane,  
With hints of a life that is thriving,  
And glimmers of Love's domain.

From the cities' network of car-tracks  
The train glides out on the race, —  
Here the starveling homes of hundreds  
Stare mankind in the face.

Near to the clanking workshop,  
Or factory rotting with toil, —  
Who would buy these pictures painted?  
Who would study the prey of spoil?

The heads of these homes know no message  
That springs from the dew of the dawn;  
No rose-breath thrills them in summer,  
No swell of a velvet lawn

Recalls the green of the sea-coast,  
The whirl of the midnight dance, —  
Snatches of Memory's music  
That flash o'er the soul's expanse;

He listens, and gropes for its meaning —  
Listens with bated breath.

But they plod to work in the morning  
And weary return at night,  
The front of a grim to-morrow  
Blotting the hearthstone's light;

And whose is the blame or the burden?  
Whose is the task to care  
That the souls of brothers are sodden,  
Dying for sun and air?

But a hope is struggling and leaping  
In bondmen waked to strife,  
A hope prophetic and cosmic,  
The birth of a nobler life:

And when, by the evening fire,  
Or down the pleasant street,  
Or at concert or ball or feasting  
The children of fortune meet,

The man-brute hears in the distance  
A voice of triumph and pain —  
The voice of the ages speaking;  
And he catches its refrain.



# The Chicago Convention of the Socialist Party



ADMIRABLE! is the one exultant word resounding in the Socialist press throughout the length and breadth of the country regarding the National Convention of the Socialist Party, which was held in the Windy City during the first week of the month of May. A. M. Simons, editor of the "International Socialist Review," strikes the right keynote when he says in the "Appeal to Reason" that no one who was present at the convention "will deny that it was the most important convention of Socialists ever held in America." All the Socialist editors are unanimous on this point, although they do not all agree upon every detail of the work of the convention. "In a number of senses it marked a turning point in the history of Socialism in the United States"—continues A. M. Simons in the article already quoted from. "It was the beginning of constructive work. Its actions were indicative at every point of the fact that the time of preparation was past and the time of accomplishment at hand."

"It was an epoch making, truly representative, hard working convention"—is also the opinion of the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," which is the oldest Socialist newspaper in America.

## Character of the Delegates

Nearly 200 delegates from all parts of the country were present. "The convention brought together a remarkable fine body of intellectual men and women, averaging high above the usual conventions of a national character"—is the opinion of the "Social Democratic Herald." This opinion is shared by "The Crisis" (Salt Lake City, Utah), which says:

"The convention has been marked by the attendance of a very much higher class of delegates than has heretofore been gathered together on any occasion in the history of the Socialist movement in this country. The deliberations of the assembly have discovered the presence therein of many fine speakers and a few really gifted orators, also several splendid parliamentarians. In accordance with a rule adopted at the opening of the convention, a new presiding officer has been chosen for each day, and without exception the comrades acting in that difficult capacity have displayed rare judgment, tact and impartiality, a though, of course, in different degree and not without arousing more or less hostility in certain directions. Comrade Sieverman of New York was perhaps the most popular of the wielders of the gavel and much admiration has been expressed for his work."

William Mailly, the National Secretary of the Party, gives some interesting statistics about the delegates. "The oldest delegate was 70 years of age, and the youngest 20 years; there were two of the latter age. The average age was between 39 and 40."

"One hundred and twenty were natives of the United States. Foreign countries were represented as follows: Austria, 4; Canada, 9; Denmark, 1; England, 7; France, 1; Germany, 19; Ireland, 2; Italy, 1; Norway, 2; Russia, 5; Sweden, 1; Switzerland, 2; total of 54."

"The occupations were: Architect, 1; bookkeepers, 4; brewery workers, 1; butcher, 1; cabinet maker, 1; carpenter, 5; cigarmakers, 6; clerks, 3; confectioner, 1; cooper, 1; clergyman, 1; contractors, 3; dentist, 1; editors, 20; engineer, 1; electrical engineer, 1; farmers, 5; foundryman, 1; groceryman, 1; hatter, 1; hotel keeper, 1; iron and steel worker, 1; jeweler, 1; journalists and writers, 4; janitor, 1; knitter, 1; lecturers, 7; lawyers, 15; merchants, 4; molders, 3; machinists, 4; mail carrier, 1; music teacher, 1; miner, 1; manufacturer, 1; merchant tailor, 1; news agent, 1; organizers and agitators, 5; physicians and surgeons, 5; porter, 1; printers, 16; paperhanger, 1; painters and decorators, 2; pharmacist, 1; proof reader, 1; plumber, 1; patternmaker, 1; real estate agent, 1; store manager, 1; salesmen, 4; students, 3; saw-mill operator, 1; stove workers, 3; stone masons, 1; silk weaver, 1; stenographer, 1; sheet iron worker, 1; teachers, 7; telegrapher, 1; tinner, 1; waiters, 3; woodworkers, 2; watchmaker, 1; watch repairer, 1."

"Seventy-eight delegates were members of trade unions."

Even "Lucifer" (Chicago, Ill.), a paper of anarchist ideas, which as such has all the reason to be opposed to a Socialist political convention, says: "As compared with other representative bodies of men and women—there were six women delegates—I consider the personnel of this convention by no means inferior to that of any similar assemblage that I have ever had the privilege of meeting."

It seems that the delegates from the Empire State made an especially favorable impression on the people at Chicago, judging from the following in the "Social Democratic Herald" (Milwaukee, Wis.):

"The New York delegation was a bunch of thoroughbreds, if we may be permitted the expression. There was Dr. Herron and Morris Hillquit; and Sieverman, who not only carried off the chairmanship honors of the convention, but contributed one of the very best speeches in the trade union debate; there was Editor Spargo of 'The Comrade,' who possesses a style of speaking that is very effective in a convention, especially, as in his case, when it includes clear Socialist thought and

sincerity; there was Editor Lee of the 'New York Worker,' who deservedly made many friends; and then Ben, Hanford, Jonas, Slobodin, Wegener, and the rest of them. They took good Socialist ground on the propositions that came up, as, indeed, they ought to, being seasoned men in the movement."

"There was no little surprise expressed when Kerrigan, of Texas, who had attracted attention the past year by the correctness of his thoughtful attitude on various matters in the party, voted against the trade union resolutions."

"Carey, of Massachusetts, again scored as one of the best debaters and platform speakers."

"Editor Titus, of the 'Seattle Socialist,' was one of those who got a new and correct view of some of the rest of us. He was pretty sound on almost every point that came up, and therefore a disappointment to the impossibilists."

The state of Illinois was, of course, well represented at the convention. According to the "Los Angeles Socialist" the "Illinois delegation with Ernest Unterman, A. M. Simons, Seymour Steadman, Berlyn, Taft, Phelan, Collins, Carr, Dalton, Mance of the 'Chicago Socialist,' represented the Middle West. Such men as these were the leaders of the convention itself." The same publication from Southern California frankly admits that it "was evident from the start that the policy of the party would be directed by trained parliamentarians from the New York and Chicago delegations in a great measure with a few prominent members such as Mailly of Nebraska, Carey of Massachusetts, Berger of Wisconsin, and Hayes of Ohio to balance the power." In general, it seems that the very best of the party were present at the convention, most of those who are generally and popularly known—says the "Montana News" and it proceeds to mention Debs, Hanford, Simons, Unterman, Richardson, O'Mally, Spargo, Wilkins, Titus, Father McGrady and Haggerty, Wilshire, Herron, Mills and Wills.

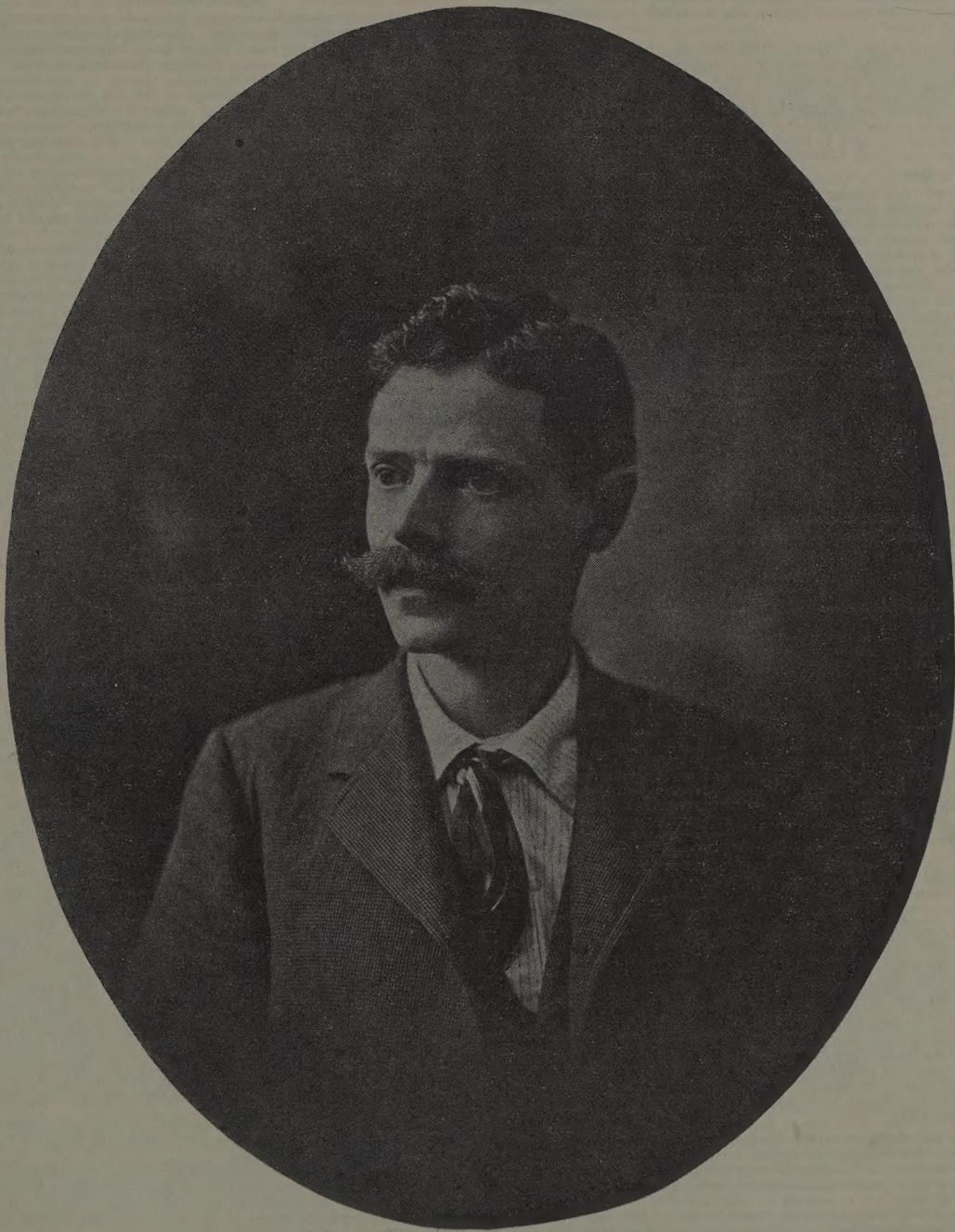
## The Standard Bearers

It goes without saying that the most unanimously approved work of the convention is the choice for President and Vice-President of the United States. "Debs and Hanford as presidential candidates—a better selection could not have been made!"—is the honest opinion of the "St. Louis Labor." Speaking of Debs, as the candidate for President of the United States, "The Toiler" (of Terre Haute, Ind.), says that he "is the most beloved and honored leader of the Socialists of America." Of Hanford, as the candidate for Vice-President of the United States, the same paper says that "Ben is all right, a highly intellectual, brave, loyal worker for the salvation of the toilers from poverty and slavery." "In Comrades Eugene V. Debs and Benjamin Hanford, we feel that the convention did well," remarks the "Common People's Paper." "With pleasure and pride these two names go to the head of the 'Common People's' ticket, there to remain till the votes are counted in November. And while we can't do anything but talk for them, we propose to do good and plenty of that. Our standard bearers are all right and in themselves represent every principle enunciated in the platform."

Long is the list of those that join in praise of "these two valiant veterans in the struggle for labor's emancipation." "The Worker" thinks "they make a representative and inspiring ticket, as both of them have given their lives for years past to disinterested service to their class in the trade union and Socialist movements." It is the sincere opinion of the "Maine Socialist" that "better than any other man in this country at the present time Mr. Debs personifies the spirit and ambition of the progressive working class, and his personal character and ability as an orator pre-eminently fit him to be the standard bearer of the Socialists. He has sacrificed much for the cause of labor, and the admiration with which he is regarded by the workers of America is characterized by a remarkable degree of genuine affection." And that Comrade Debs has the right kind of a running mate there is not the slightest doubt on the part of anybody. The "Appeal to Reason" is convinced that Hanford "is a man of sterling worth. He speaks with earnestness, and none can doubt his great love for the class he represents. Our opinion is that Hanford's candidacy will bring many supporters to the Socialist ranks."

The "ticket" is an ideal one, claims justly the "New Yorker Volkszeitung." "Our agitators will have no need of making long explanations about them. Each of the candidates bears a name which speaks for itself. Where these two names will be mentioned no one will be in the dark as to what is meant. That Debs would be the candidate for President could have been clearly foreseen, but to whom would go the nomination for Vice-President was at first doubtful. But when Benjamin Hanford was placed in nomination and the comrades of California, through their delegates, declared that 'they extend a fraternal hand to the New Yorker clear across the great continent,' thereby endorsing Hanford's nomination, a mighty wave of enthusiasm swept through the hall."





BEN HANFORD

Socialist Candidate for Vice President



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It must have been an inspiring moment when the candidate for President on the Socialist ticket made his speech of acceptance. Says the Utah "Crisis":

"As was expected, Debs was the unanimous choice of the convention to be its standard bearer in the campaign about to be inaugurated, and while many were inclined to think Max Hayes would be named as his running mate the selection of Comrade Hanford meets with general approval and certainly no one will dispute his ability to worthily trot even in so fast and popular a class as brilliant and genial 'Gene' V. As an orator Hanford is little, if any, inferior to Debs and both will be heard extensively and will accomplish a vast deal of good during the campaign.

"It was an inspiring sight to-day when the bald and lanky nominee entered the hall and appeared on the platform to deliver his speech accepting the honor accorded him by the assembled comrades. The delegates rose as one man, hands were waved, hats thrown high in the air, chairs were pounded on the floor, and cheer after cheer was given for the idol of the hour. The windows shook with the enthusiasm, the very floor rocked beneath the wildly demonstrative multitude, and for fully ten minutes pandemonium reigned. Through it all, calmly impassive, with no sign of a smile on his strong, classic face, the recipient of all this homage stood viewing the scene beneath, and when the throng finally, and with much reluctance, permitted him to speak, it was to listen to as powerful and wise an address as ever fell from the lips of any candidate of any party in any country. He speaks slowly, does Eugene Debs; he weighs his words carefully and so constructs his sentences that no one can by any possibility misconstrue his meaning. He doesn't say a great deal, but what he does say is very much to the point, and his remarks are punctuated with frequent applause and laughter, as when he arraigned the Democratic party to-day in these words: 'Then there is the Democratic party, which hasn't stock enough left to declare its own bankruptcy.' After listening to him speak for a half hour and noting the cordiality and magnetism of the man in all his intercourse with his fellows, it is not difficult to account for his popularity with the rank and file, nor to question his fitness for the leadership of the greatest movement which American politics has ever known."

G. W. Woodbey, the only colored delegate at the convention, who stated that he was sent to give the convention color, says in the Los Angeles Socialist that "the wildest scenes of all occurred when Debs and Hanford were nominated. To me it was worth traveling eastward across the continent to vote for the nomination of Debs whose speeches in 1900 had more to do with making me a Socialist than any other one thing. To hear Hanford is to realize that no mistake was made in choosing him for second place on the ticket."—"The Montana News" (Lewistown, Mont.) also says "the nomination of Eugene V. Debs for president by Prof. Herron set the convention wild with joy, and for some time order could not be restored for cheering and confusion. It was evident that the laboring class have an undying love for Comrade Debs who served time at Woodstock and will serve time some day in the White House. The nomination of Ben Hanford was heralded with enthusiasm, when presented for vice president, and in a short address for about a half hour, he held the convention's attention very closely. Comrade Debs was heard on the following morning and his address was complimented as being the finest he ever delivered, by many who have known him for a number of years."

As an orator the candidate for Vice-President is described by the "Social Democratic Herald" in the following manner:

"... Hanford, of New York, who had the sense to say nothing when he had nothing particular to say (which virtue many others did not possess), endeared himself to the entire delegation by the sweetness of his character. When he did take the floor there was no one present to begrudge him the time, and certainly his speech of acceptance was one of the finest things imaginable. Dressed in the plain, and wrinkled clothes of the every-day wage worker, he stood before the vast audience in a modest, unpretentious way that won all hearts. There was no straining after oratorical effects, no parade of his wonderful gift of platform ability, it was just lovable Ben Hanford talking to others of his class and consecrating himself anew to service in the cause so near his heart. No wonder the hall fairly rocked with applause when he had concluded, for it was applause that was genuine and spontaneous and irresistible."

All the Socialist papers dwell a good deal on the fact that both standard bearers are good orators. The "Chicago Socialist" does not fail to mention that, and also the fact that they are both "tireless campaigners, who have been sowing the seeds of Socialism almost unceasingly for years. It is now up to every member of the Socialist Party to do what is within his power and to spread the light of Socialism and educate the workers to use their ballot for the emancipation of their class. Let no individual Socialist trust or wait for some one else to do the work of educating the workers; you have your part to do—a part that no one else can do. Let all whose eyes have been opened to the truths of Socialism bend every energy between now and election day to carry the evangel of Socialism to his fellow wage slave."

### The Platform

Not quite so unanimous as upon the choice of the standard bearers is the opinion of the Socialist press respecting the platform adopted at Chicago. It is, of course, much liked by the standard bearers of the party, who were members of the Platform Committee. It is the belief of Eugene V. Debs that the distinguishing feature of that convention is that it will go down in history as the first national convention which has formulated a distinctively American platform! The platform "sets forth the class struggle better than any previous document"—wires editor H. F. Titus to his paper in Seattle, "The Socialist"; and according to the "Alliance of the Rockies" "it (the platform) goes to the people ringing with a consciousness that will find echo in the heart of each reader who has a brain to think and who has made use of it." But it is nevertheless the opinion of the "Social Democratic Herald" that it would have been much better if the platform had been written by Debs instead of by Dr. George D. Herron, as was the case. Says the "Herald":

"In many ways the platform adopted by the convention is fine, but it has the undoubted defect of being too long, and there is the further objection that it reads more like an essay than a platform. As we understand the process by which it was evolved, the points that were to appear in the platform were debated at great length by the platform committee and after deciding what was to be said and what not said, Prof. Herron was given the task of doing the saying. With all due respect of Prof. Herron's known fluency of diction, power of statement and mastery as a sentence builder, the platform as dressed up by him is not the best appeal that could be made to the working class. The language has the odor of the academic workshop. It will appeal instantly to the understanding of the college professor and the litterateur, but how about the man in overalls who thinks in the current language of the street—the man we must convert if we are to pursue our destined course as an anticapitalistic party? It is true that the platform as it goes to the public will not disgrace us in the eyes of the upper classes, in the eyes of those who have culture to enthuse over polished periods, but it is not especially for such people that Socialist platforms are written. The committee would have done better had it asked Debs, who was also on the platform committee, to do the dressing-up. Debs' style is direct and thoroughly understandable to the working class, while it also contains no jarring notes, so far as style goes, for the ears of the cultured classes."

"Labor" of St. Louis complains of the lengthiness of the platform, but it is an excellent document for propaganda purposes"—it declares. The "Udall, Kas., News," thinks that the platform is a clear cut revolutionary document which admits of no mis-construction and is destined to become a second Declaration of Independence to the working class of America."

The "Crisis," Salt Lake City, Utah, believes the platform is the most coherent utterance that ever emanated from the working class of this land. It will become immortal and rank as the second Declaration of Independence. It invites and calls for the respect, admiration and allegiance, not alone of every man and woman in the working class, but also of all who, calling themselves Americans, profess to still believe in the idea of liberty and self-government."

A note of discontent is heard from Chicago, the home of the impossibilists, with regard to the platform. An effort will be made to have a new platform adopted by the Socialist Party. Cooks County Central Committee (Chicago) has taken steps in this direction. The objections to the platform adopted are voiced in the "Erie People," by a well-known Chicago comrade, M. H. Taft, as follows:

"It may be evident to anyone that attending the convention that the platform (so-called) was railroaded through, there being no real opportunity for its discussion. A single delegate (the writer) made a protest against certain clauses in the platform, but it was evident that no debate was expected, and no further effort was made in that direction. Few if any votes were cast against the platform, but immediately after its adoption there was a wide expression of profound dissent. The dereliction, if such it was, of the opponents of the platform in the Convention is however no reason why the party membership should submit to the heavy handicap of a totally unsuitable platform."

"Regarding the platform itself I shall not at this time speak at length. I can hardly be denied that it is based on the rights-of-man theory and not on the class struggle. Its keynote is the cry for liberty. Socialists rejected this doctrine long ago and they will not now submit to a reactionary declaration."

"On the subject of 'demands,' probably no one knows whether they are in the platform or not. On this subject the Socialist Party will take a straightforward position."

"Incidentally it might be said that a Socialist platform need not deal with 'world processes' nor other grand cosmic problems; nor need it be embellished with rhetorical fustian. Furthermore, the men in the Socialist Party need not appeal to the noble and disinterested friends of the workers' to come down and help them."

"The party demands a clear and sane statement of its position. A statement which shall plainly point out to the workmen what is their real interest and the interest of their class, and what action is to be taken to gain it. It demands a platform based on the class struggle, ignoring all other considerations."



## THE COMRADE

A good sign of the growth and influence of the Socialist Party is the fact that never before has the Socialist platform received such careful attention as the one adopted at Chicago. It is alleged by some that the new platform contains inconsistencies, and the "Worker's Gazette" (Omaha, Nebraska) proceeds to reply to this class of critics in the following manner:

"Speaking of the alleged inconsistency of the Socialist platform, it appears to us that the immediate demands enumerated in no way conflict with the ultimate demand for public ownership of the means of production and distribution or the co-operative commonwealth. In the capacity of competitors, not in the capacity of Socialists, are we in favor of the ultimate demands, which would be superfluous under Socialism. Practically, no one is a Socialist today; we are simply seekers after the Socialist state or society; we can no more practice now the benefits of the revolution that is to come than a citizen in Iowa can enjoy citizenship of Nebraska before he leaves the former state and moves into the latter and then qualifies. Any means of moving, and the best bridge over the Missouri river that he can use, have nothing to do with the end sought except being incidents to the transition worth pointing out in the program.

"So far as the preamble of the platform is concerned which appeals to men to see the necessity for protection of the individual liberty that is rightfully due them, how can this be construed to be in opposition to Socialism? Is not the very purpose of public ownership of the means of production and distribution or the co-operative commonwealth to secure individual economic liberty or to abolish wage slavery?"

### A United Convention

Apropos of what the "Social Democratic Herald" says about Delegate Titus being a disappointment to the "impossibilists," it will be interesting to many of our readers to learn that the Chicago delegation to the convention furnished the greatest number of impossibilists; and in the estimation of the "Social Democratic Herald" they, the Chicago possibilists, "cut a sorry figure in the convention." . . . "They constantly dwindled in stature as the convention proceeded, so that at the close they were generally looked upon with pity."

A different opinion of the influence of the impossibilists in the convention is that of the "Crisis," Salt Lake City, Utah, as can be seen from the following:

"The principal fight came over the question of immediate demands, as was to have been expected. At one time it looked as though the convention might be disrupted by the apparently irreconcilable position of those who violently opposed the adoption of any immediate demands whatever. The 'impossibles,' led by Titus of Washington and Spears of Illinois, ably supported by Oregon's solitary delegate, Mrs. Smith, and others whose remarks were more vociferous than logical, indulged in all sorts of obstructionist tactics and hair-splitting, but the good sense of the majority, aided by the accumulated fatigue of the entire gathering, eventually brought about a satisfactory settlement of the question.

"It is a deplorable fact that these same 'impossibles' succeeded in having their own way in numerous instances where a more liberal and progressive spirit would have proved far more advantageous to the party as a whole. Some of their suggestions, however, were undoubtedly sound and doubles the presence of a few of this ultra conservative or even reactionary type may not be considered as exactly a calamity in a national gathering."

This last view of the extremists is supported by Comrade L. Gozziou, in the French Social Democratic paper, "L'Union des Travailleurs." He says: "Those comrades have their place. They serve to counterbalance those other extremists who are simply reformers."

But that, in reality, there were no factions in the convention, is clear from the following, written by Algernon Lee in "The Worker":

"The prediction made by 'The Worker' some weeks ago, that no hard and fast general line would divide the convention has been quite justified. As I wrote last week, there were a few opportunists and a few impossibilists. But not only were they few; what is more to the point, they did not exercise much influence, did not form the nuclei of a 'right' and a 'left,' with an inchoate 'center' swayed by their conflicting influences. Nothing of this sort was to be observed. If there was a 'center,' it was the majority and the very large majority of the convention and it was a body of men who thoroughly knew their minds on most matters that came before them and knew how to learn and make up their minds on any others that might arise. At least as many as sixty or eighty divisions were taken during the six days' session, on questions of varying importance, and sometimes the yeas and nays were pretty evenly balanced; watching these divisions rather closely, I observed—and with great satisfaction—that there was in them very little of personal following or of local or factional grouping; state delegations were often divided—even that of New York, to the astonishment and edification of some comrades who had believed in the myth of a New York 'machine'—and men who voted together on one question were almost as likely as not to find themselves opposed on some other an hour later. This, and the freedom with which delegates expressed their views even when they knew themselves to be for the time in a small minority, make it clear that the unity of the Socialist Party is a truly harmonious and vital unity, not imposed by authority and not

maintained by compromise, but resulting from the sincere effort of all to see and faithfully to follow the one path marked out by our principles and the need and instinct of our class."

Speaking of the way the convention has impressed him, editor G. A. Hoehn says in his "Arbeiter-Zeitung" (St. Louis, Mo.), that it was clearly evident that "Socialism is on the march." Editor Victor Berger of the "Wahrheit" (Milwaukee, Wis.), writes: "We have a strong Socialist movement in this country, one which can worthily place itself on the side of the Europeans, especially the Germans."

### Achievements of the Convention

"The Worker" thus summarizes the work of the convention:

"The convention has given us a consistent and workable democratic constitution; it has given us a platform both clear and eloquent; it has given us a ticket of which we may be proud; and in addition to all this, it has done incalculable good by bringing into personal contact over two hundred active Socialists from the most widely separated parts of the country, enabling each to learn from the others, in many cases removing ill-founded distrust and in many more strengthening the bonds of mutual confidence and esteem. If any one fears that such divergence of views as exists within the party may threaten its unity, if any one doubts the party's ability to conduct its own affairs and the larger affairs of public administration with which it will be entrusted, or if any one imagines that its revolutionary spirit is likely to decline or its strict adherence to scientific principles to become relaxed as it grows in size and power and grapples with concrete problems—whoever may entertain such doubts or fears should have attended this convention and they would have been dispelled."

The opinion of the "Social Democratic Herald" is also made up on this point, for it says:

"The outcome of the convention was in every way satisfactory. The nomination of Eugene V. Debs of Indiana for president and Benjamin Hanford of New York for vice-president, simply gives the Socialists of the United States an ideal workman's ticket for the great presidential race of 1904. It displeased no one; in fact, the outcome of the balloting was clearly indicated before the convention had been in session a day. The platform presents the aims and demands of the Socialist movement fearlessly and completely. The trade union resolutions, in spite of the debate they provoked, will be found to have been wisely drafted. And best of all the convention brought together various so-called factions and showed them that their differences of standpoint were more fancied than real, and they thus came to better understand each other and to appreciate each other."

The Utah "Crisis" joins the chorus in praise of the achievements of the convention. Of the new constitution it says that it "is an improvement over the old one, the platform will meet with the approval and support of a vast majority of the party membership and the stand taken on the trades union and municipal program will do much to attract the favorable consideration of large numbers of the working class not yet affiliated with the movement."

The earnestness with which the convention transacted the business before it has earned it the applause of all—even those that for one reason or another have for many years in the past talked now and then of our party with a sneer. The "Vorwaerts" of New York, — the great and only Yiddish Socialist daily in the world—is also well satisfied with the party as it is. "The convention showed"—said the 'Vorwaerts' right after the close of the convention—"that no great differences of opinion exist. The party is solidly united. . . . The aim of the convention was to clarify everything. This clearly showed itself in the way the questions regarding organization, platform and the trade unions were settled."

The general policy of the Socialist Party remains the same as before. The convention at Chicago made no radical changes. Only, as A. M. Simons says in the "Appeal to Reason," "the form of organization evolved at this convention is more suited to the demands of American political life than those which have hitherto existed. In the elaboration of a state and municipal platform, which has been sent to a referendum, we have laid the foundations for systematic, consistent scientific handling of the problems that are even now pressing upon us. When we realize that within one year from now the Socialist Party will almost certainly have at least one thousand of its members in municipal official positions, the far-reaching effect of such a program will be apparent. It is well that this program was sent to a referendum before adoption. Its main effect must be educative and in no other way could it be brought to the attention of as large a number as by sending it to a referendum. This will require that it be discussed in every local throughout the country, and will give its provisions many times the efficiency that would have been attained had it been adopted by the convention alone."

"The position of the party with relation to matters of policy remains practically unchanged. This is as it should be. The principles of Socialism have been fixed too firmly by the multitude of workers and writers that have gone before to offer much opportunity for improvement at this time. The manner of statement, however, is wholly new and it is hoped will be found more easily comprehensible by the working class of America."



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"The authorization of the formation of a press bureau to supply matter in plate form to the Socialist press is another step which should go far to improve the Socialist papers, and also to assist them in maintaining their existence where it would otherwise be impossible. It is hoped that this will secure supervision of the press without the slightest trace of censorship, since there will be no compulsion whatever upon any paper to accept the matter furnished, and it will only be accepted when, in the opinion of the editors of the individual papers, it is superior to what can be secured elsewhere."

The most important achievement of the convention, thinks the "Arbeiter Welt" (the organ of the United Hebrew Trades of New York), is the fact that "it gave unity to the Socialists of this country." In the opinion of the "Appeal to Reason" the convention "marks a new era in the life of the party. Dating from this event will be seen a marked growth in the movement, unprecedented energy in propaganda, and mobilizing of forces such as the cause has never before witnessed in this country."

### The Outlook

The entire Socialist press is full of good hope and enthusiasm in view of the glorious struggle before them—to use the expression of the St. Louis "Labor." An intensive campaign of education is urged by the leaders of the Socialist movement.

"The tools are now ready for use. The organization is perfected for action. The principles are formulated for propaganda. Let us now use them to accomplish the task before us," says A. M. Simons.

And that this year's campaign will bring good results is not doubted by anybody. Says the "People's Paper": "The Socialist Party by its vote this fall will open the eyes of everyone, and we rejoice to feel that we represent, if even in a small way, the glorious principles it advocates. Indeed it is a joy to be young and a member of the Socialist Party—the herald of the near-by revolution from which the working people of the world will emerge to become the undenied possessors of the world." One Socialist paper prophesies that "before the year 1905 our Socialist voice will be heard a millionfold." . . . "Both the Democratic and Republican party politicians will be very unpleasantly surprised when the Socialist vote will reach the million mark in November, 1904."

"We will poll a great vote." So speaks confidently the "Los Angeles Socialist."

"The Republicans are more than ever embarrassed in their efforts to fend off the inevitable business crisis and bridge the growing chasm between the classes. The democrats are lost in the political wilderness. Fusion with the populists and brilliant leadership saved them in 1896 and led their forlorn hope in 1900 but 1904 finds them with no issue, no capable leaders and nothing to fuse with. There are plenty who would ride the jackass but none capable of leading him. With the 'too old' parties in these predicaments and with the labor unions doing a Hamlet soliloquy at the threshold of political action it is plain to be seen that the Socialist party will reap a harvest of votes that will add wonderfully to its prestige and power—and also to its responsibility."

Finally, after the Socialist side has been read, it will perhaps be in place to give the opinion of a capitalist daily on the Socialist convention and the Socialist prospect of this year's national campaign. The St. Louis "Globe-Democrat" speaks as follows:

"Debs advised his convention not to nominate him this year, but to take some man who is not so well known to the country. The convention very wisely disregarded this advice and put up Debs. Unquestionably he is the best man for the candidacy. He is a radical, of course, and at this time, when Cleveland is glorying in the suppression of the Debs rebellion in 1894 in Chicago, many persons are reading about that episode. But the episode was much fresher in the popular mind in 1900, when Debs got his big poll. The men who voted for him then will not be frightened away from him now by anything that Mr. Cleveland or anyone else may say."

"As a stump speaker Debs is probably the best man in his party. He is an effective orator, he has a good deal of magnetism and he is personally popular with his sect. The Socialist propaganda has been conducted with considerable vigor by Debs and others since 1900. The convention which has just nominated Debs has made an overture for peace with the more extreme section by declaring in favor of labor unions. If anybody on his side can bring the Malloney faction of 1900 over to the bigger ingredient of the Socialist Party that man is Debs. In the event of a bolt by the Bryan and Hearst section of the Democracy at St. Louis in July, the Socialists would receive an immediate and important accession to their ranks. The bolt is likely to take place. Republicans as well as Democrats would do well to keep an eye on Eugene V. Debs for the next few months. He is likely to make a very active canvass in 1904."

Well, Eugene V. Debs will make a very active campaign, as will also the entire Socialist Party of the United States of America.

## Nomination Speeches and Speeches of Acceptance



It was right after the unanimous acceptance of the platform by the Socialist Convention at Chicago that Dr. George D. Herron, of the New York delegation, arose to nominate Eugene V. Debs as candidate for President of the United States. Comrade Herron spoke as follows:

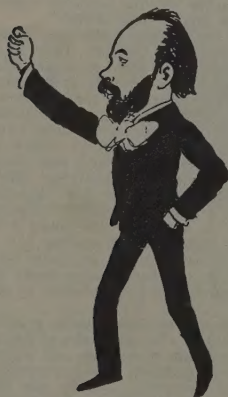
"Mr. Chairman and comrades of the convention — in rising to make what I believe will be the unanimous nomination of this convention, I would

like to preface that nomination with a statement of what has come to me in watching the proceedings of this convention—and in watching the

general development of the Socialist movement for the two years since our Indianapolis convention. I think I shall go away from this convention very much of an optimist concerning the future of the working class of America. There are greater struggles before us, or before especially those of you who are in the ranks of labor, than perhaps we know."

"Here in America the conditions of labor, on the one side, and capital, on the other side, are intensifying with a rapidity and sharpness that no Socialist economist would have prophesied twenty or thirty years ago. More than in any other nation of the world the lines of economic conflict between the working class and the capitalist or possessing class, are being clearly drawn by the experience of the working class

itself; and I have no doubt, although this is not the place for prophecy, but what the great international or world catastrophe—if it is to be a catastrophe—of the capitalist system will be precipitated here in America. (Applause.) I have no doubt but what, in the spread of the commonwealth of labor around the world, that the sun of that co-operative commonwealth will rise here on the American continent, and in this republic. (Applause.) And therefore it has seemed to me more urgent than anything else that the working class of America should become conscious not only of its struggle, not only of itself, of its class, but of its opportunity. There is a sense in which we might say what Marx once said to the workers in the International at Brussels, and say it with more truth, that the destinies of the workers of the world, for perhaps the next two or three centuries to come, are pivoted upon the solidarity and the intelligence and the character of the organization of Labor here in America. (Applause.) And it has seemed to me therefore important that here, above almost every other country, the working class, with the pressure of the struggle upon it, and with the preceding advantages of the public school such as they were—that the working class here in America is better prepared than perhaps in any other nation to work out its own salvation and its own destiny. For in the end the workers of the world will never be free until they free themselves by their own united action. (Loud Applause.) No matter what others who may gladly give themselves to the workers' struggle may do, in the end all freedom of all good that is handed down by one class unto another class historically has proven delusive. In the struggle of the Paris Commune, in the struggle of the Lollards in early England, with their ideals of a certain sort of social democracy, and in all history, the subject peoples have maintained a positive gain of a positive freedom wherever they have gained that freedom for themselves; and whenever they have lost, and whenever they have been betrayed, it has been be-



George D. Herron

—Appeal to Reason



Herman F. Titus

—Appeal to Reason



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cause their own cause was committed to other hands than their own. (Applause.)

"Now, I say that the proceedings of this convention and the development of the Socialist movement within the last two or three years have given me a feeling of infinite relief, especially since I have been here. I feel that the heart and the brain of the working class are sound. I feel that the working class can be trusted in America to work out its own destiny. (Applause.) I feel that it will keep faith with its opportunity and its responsibility for the emancipation of the workers of the world. I am sure that, in the struggle that will bring upon us, in the next four or five years, things of which we do not now dream, that may try men's souls and bodies and faith, try the whole manhood of men as possibly men were never tried in human history—I feel that when that crisis or that day of judgment comes the working class Socialist movement of America will be as great as its cause, and that it will rise up to match its opportunity. (Applause.)

"Now, there is no man in America who more surely and faithfully incarnates the heart-ache and the protest and the struggle of labor for its emancipation or more surely voices that struggle than Eugene V. Debs. (Great Applause.) And, Mr. Chairman and comrades of the convention, I count it amongst the great joys of my life—I do not say honors, because I have had done with them long ago (Applause)—I count it among the great joys and opportunities of my life to stand before you to-day and nominate Eugene V. Debs as the candidate of the Socialist Party of the United States for President in our coming national campaign. (Prolonged Applause.)

The nomination of Eugene V. Debs for President was ably supported by ex-Representative James F. Carey of Haverhill, Massachusetts. Comrade Debs was not present in the hall while he was nominated, but he appeared on the following morning and made his speech of acceptance then. Needless to say that he aroused the delegates and visitors to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. He spoke as follows:

"Comrade Chairman and comrades: In the councils of the Socialist Party the collective will is supreme. Personally, I could have wished to remain in the ranks, to make my record, humble though it might be, fighting unnamed and unhonored side by side with my comrades. I accept your nomination, not because of any honor it confers—because in the Socialist movement no comrade can be honored except as he honors himself by his fidelity to the movement. I accept your nomination because of the confidence it implies, because of the duty it imposes. I cannot but wish that I may, in a reasonable measure, meet your expectation; that I may prove myself fit and worthy to bear aloft the coming strife banner of the working class (Applause); that, by my utterances and by my conduct, not in an individual capacity, but as your representative,, I may prove myself worthy to bear the standard of the only party that proposes to emancipate my class from the thralldom of the ages.

"It is my honor to stand in the presence of a very historic convention, and I would that Karl Marx might be here to-day; I would that Lassalle and Engels, the men who, long before the movement had its present standing, wrought and sacrificed to make it possible for me to stand in this magnificent presence—I wish it were possible for them to share in the glories of this occasion. We are on the eve of battle to-day. We are ready for the contest. We are eager for the fray. We depart from here with the endorsement of a convention that shall challenge undisputed the approval of the working class of the world. The platform upon which we stand is the first American utterance upon the subject of International Socialism. Hitherto we have repeated, we have reiterated, we have followed. For the first time in the history of the American movement we have realized the American expression of that movement. There is not a line, not a word in that platform which is not revolutionary, which is not clear, which does not state precisely and properly the position of the American movement. We leave this convention standing on this platform, to throw down the gauntlet to the capitalist enemy (applause), to challenge the capitalist oppressor to do battle for the perpetuation of a system that keeps in chains those in whose name we meet today.

"There is a republican party; the dominant capitalist party of this time; the party that has its representatives in the White House; the party that dominates both branches of the congress; the party that controls the supreme court; the party that absolutely controls the press; the party that gives inspiration to the subsidized pulpit; the party that controls every force of government; the party that is absolutely in power in every department of our activity. And as a necessary result we find that corruption is rampant; that the congress of the United States dare not respond to the demands of the people to open the sources of corruption from which the lava streams flow down the mountain sides; that they adjourned long before the hour struck for adjournment in order that they might postpone the inevitable. (Applause.)

"There is a democratic party—(A Voice: "Where?")—a party that has not stock enough left to proclaim its own bankruptcy (laughter and applause); an expiring party that stands upon the crumbling foundations of a dying class; a party that is torn by dissension; a party that cannot unite; a party that is looking backward and hoping for the resurrection of the men who gave it inspiration a century ago; a party that is appealing to the cemeteries of the past (applause); a party that is trying to vitalize itself by ghosts, by its corpses, by those who cannot

be heard in their own defense. Thomas Jefferson would scorn to enter a modern democratic convention. He would have as little business there as Abraham Lincoln would have in a modern republican convention. If they were living today they would be delegates to this convention. (Tremendous applause.)

"The Socialist Party meets these two parties face to face. Without a semblance of apology, without an attempt at explanation, scorning to compromise, it throws down the gage of battle and declares that there is but one solution of what is called the labor question, and that is by the complete overthrow of the capitalist system. (Applause.)

"You have honored me in the magnitude of the task that you have imposed upon me, far beyond the power of my weak words to express. I can simply say that obedient to your call I respond. Responsive to your command I am here. I shall serve you to the limit of my capacity. My controlling ambition shall be to bear the standard aloft where the battle waxes thickest. I shall not hesitate as the opportunity comes to me to voice the emancipating gospel of the Socialist movement. I shall be heard in the coming campaigns often, and as decidedly and as emphatically, as revolutionary, as uncompromisingly, as my ability, my strength and my fidelity to the movement will allow. I invoke no aid but that which springs from the misery of my class; no power that does not spring spontaneous from the prostrate body of the workers of the world. Above all things I realize that for the first time in the history of all the ages there is a working class movement perfectly free from the sentimentality of those who riot in the misery of the class who are in that movement. On this occasion above all others, my comrades, we are appealing to ourselves, we are bestirring ourselves, we are arousing the working class, the class that through all of the ages has been oppressed, crushed, suffered, for the one reason that through all of the centuries of the past this class has lacked the consciousness of its overmastering power that shall give it the control and make it master of the world. This class is just beginning to awaken from the torture of the centuries and the most hopeful sign of the times is that from the dull, the dim eye of the man who is in this class there goes forth for the first time in history the first gleam of intelligence, the first sign of the promise that he is awakening, and that he is becoming conscious of his power; and when he, through the inspiration of the Socialist movement, shall become completely conscious of that power, he will overthrow the capitalist system and bring the emancipation of his class. (Great applause.)

"To consecrate myself to my small part of this work is my supreme ambition. I can hope only to do that part which is expected of me so well that my comrades, when the final verdict is rendered, will say, "He was not a candidate for president; he did not aspire to hold office; he did not try to associate his name with the passing glories, but he did prove himself worthy to be a member of the Socialist party; he proved his right to a place in the "International Socialist movement of the world" (applause). If, when this little work shall have been completed, this can be said of me, my acceptance of your nomination will have been so much more completely made than I could hope to frame it in weak words, that I close not with the decided utterance, but with the wish and the hope and the ambition that when the fight has been fought, when the task you have imposed upon me has been performed so far as it lies in the power of an individual to perform that task, that my acceptance of the honor you have conferred upon me will have been made and that your wisdom and your judgment will have been vindicated by the membership of the party throughout the country.

"From the depths of my heart I thank you. I thank you, and each of you, and through you I thank those you represent. I thank you not from my lips merely. I thank you from the depths of a heart that is responsive to your consideration. We shall meet again. We shall meet often, and when we meet finally we shall meet in much larger numbers to ratify the coming of the Socialist Republic. (Great and prolonged applause.)"

It was a delegate from far-west who made the first speech nominating Benjamin Hanford, of New York, for Vice-President of the United States. The delegate was no other than Dr. Titus, of Seattle, Washington, editor of "The Socialist". His speech was as follows:

"Some of our capitalist critics have thought that we were incapable, but there is one thing that we have done, representing the working class, we have worked freely together, we have expressed our minds, and we have come to a common mind. This is the only place where such freedom is possible on the American continent in a political convention. (Applause.) We have made no mistake thus far. I have felt, and I think every member here feels the increasing consciousness of membership in a great movement of the world. I think we began to thrill with the common consciousness of a common destiny, and with the highest mission that has ever been committed to any class in the world—its own emancipation and the emancipation of the rest of humanity with it. (Applause.) I have heard it mentioned on the floor of this convention and before that some man or men, some choice among men who were not members of the working class should be made to be placed upon our ticket. I enter a most emphatic protest against any name upon our ticket that is not truly representative of that class that holds the destiny of the world in its hands. (Applause.) We are in a formative period. Our party—I had almost said was not yet fully integrated. I believe it would be a mistake to say that. Perhaps one week ago we might have said it truly, but no man could have attended this convention without



## THE COMRADE

becoming convinced that this is a party thoroughly integrated, truly unified. It can not be destroyed, unless it makes some stupendous blunder. (Applause.) We have had a working man's convention. Every issue that has been presented here has been decided in the interests of the working class. We have a workingman's platform, and we have a working man at the head of our ticket (applause), and I propose another representative workingman to be associated with Eugene V. Debs. I propose the name of a man who is known from one end of the Socialist world to the other; who has long been associated with the triumphs of Socialism, and the struggles of Socialism; who has suffered for Socialism, suffered for what he believes to be the interests of his own class; a man not of the west, to which I belong, but a man of the Atlantic coast, and I hope his nomination will be made as spontaneous as that of the head of the ticket. I present the name of Ben Hanford, of New York." (Cheers and continued applause.)

After his nomination was made unanimous, amidst the loud cheers of all present, Benjamin Hanford made the following characteristic address:

"Mr. Chairman and Comrades: You notice we went a long way around to get here. (Laughter.) I have noticed that Socialists sometimes do go a long way around to get a very short distance, but just so we get there, that is the main thing. (Laughter and applause.)

"I want to say briefly a word in relation to Comrade Debs, that for quite a long time past myself and many other comrades have considered with each other and in an entirely informal way as to who would in all probability be the best possible choice as a candidate for President, and while none of these comrades that I have mentioned was considering it from any other standpoint than the good of the party, every one of them was unanimous in the opinion that Comrade Debs would be the best possible man to nominate for president at this time. (Loud applause.)

"In relation to myself I do not know that there is much that I can say more than this: That I have never allowed myself to seek anything in the Socialist movement from a personal standpoint, or, for that matter, in any other movement, but at the same time I have always been in the position that whenever the party told me to do something I always did it, no matter whether I liked it or not. (Great applause.) Comrade Titus made one mistake about me in placing my name before the convention. He spoke of my having made sacrifices for the Socialist movement. I want to say this, that the Socialist movement has done more for me than I can ever do for it. (Applause.) I do not know that I exactly agree with the philosophy that says that whom the Lord loveth he chastiseth, but I do believe that there is nothing that a man can do in the world, that there is no blessing that can be conferred upon a man by any power on earth which will be of the immense benefit to him throughout his whole life such as that of following the conscientious convictions of his own mind in matters of right or wrong. (Loud applause.) I can say here that I very much doubt, so far from my having sacrificed anything for the Socialist movement, I very much doubt if I would have been alive to-

day had it not been for the Socialist movement, and I will tell you why. As a man in my trade about nineteen years ago there came in what we call the linotype typesetting machine. They put one of them into a printing office and one man got a job of operating it, and he would do the work of as high as five or six men who were there before this machine was brought in. Well, strange as it may seem, just about the time that typesetting machine was entering the printing offices I got tangled up in the Socialist movement. (Laughter.) And every day when I was out of work, when I was a victim of an enforced idleness, instead of going to the gin mill and waste my time as others among the workmen had done, instead of becoming despondent, I occupied all my time reading a book or a paper or making a Socialist speech on a soap box or something of that kind. In other words, what was despair to other people was the star of hope to me. (Loud applause.)

"Two or three years ago I went down in the coal region in Pennsylvania, while the coal strike was going on there, and I spoke three or four times, and wherever I went all it needed was to put a little placard out, leave a notice on a telegraph pole for two hours, and there, as though they had sprung out of the ground, were 1,000 men, or 5,000 men, or 10,000 men, and I can say that they heard me gladly, and not only me, but other comrades who were with me, and they did so because the men knew that the Socialist party was in sympathy with the trades unionists as against the capitalists in their scraps with the capitalists. (Applause.) Now, there was another party that would like to have sent its speakers down to that field, but they would not have been favorably received, and that was the Socialist Labor Party, and that party was not able to send speakers there just because of its attitude against the trades union. (Applause.) Now, you think it is terrible when trades unionists make mistakes, but, good heavens, I would like to know down to this hour almost, when we have ever had a chance to make a mistake that we didn't make one. (Laughter and applause.) They have troubles, but, Lord, look at the troubles we have had. (Laughter.) And they are like us again in this further respect: They have no interest in perpetuating their mistakes, any more than we have in perpetuating ours, and if they are wrong today they have got to be put into the crucible of experience, so that they may come out right.

"Now, comrades, you have the greatest privilege, as Comrade Titus has pointed out, that any people on the face of the earth ever had before. All previous revolutions, none of them ever had it in its power to do anything more than liberate a certain group of people, or a little nation of people, but this movement proposes to free every man and every woman and every child on earth, wherever they may be, for all time. (Loud continued applause.) This movement is not only worth living for, but it is better worth dying for than any other movement in the world. (Loud cheering and applause.) To bring about the furtherance of this thing I say to you, let your hearts be as true as steel, be steeled to the very back, put your soul and your heart and your whole power into action, and we will have Socialism in our time and in our country."

## A SOCIALIST VETERAN

In the course of his rousing speech before the Socialist convention at Chicago, Eugene V. Debs expressed the wish that Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Ferdinand Lassalle might have lived to sit in that convention and witness the progress of the cause to which their lives have been dedicated.

Marx sleeps the eternal slumber at Highgate cemetery, and Lassalle rests from his battles at the Breslau churchyard, while the ashes of Engels have long been returned to the workshops of Nature.

But while of these departed leaders only the spirit of their life work could be present at the convention, there were not missing at that historic gathering elements that link the generation of active fighters of today with these great figures of the heroic age. In the person of comrade Alexander Jonas the Socialists of New York had sent to the convention not only one of the founders of the American Socialist movement and one of the oldest Socialists but also one of the most active Socialists, who despite his 70 years, worked as hard for the Socialist movement as any of the younger men.

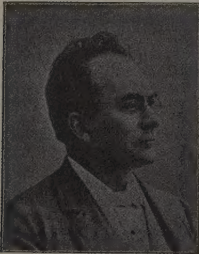
When in 1848 the revolution swept through the whole of Europe, our comrade Jonas, then a boy, heard the word "Freedom" and it seemed to him a wonderful word with a wonderful meaning.

Standing at the window of his father's house near the royal castle of Berlin, he beheld one day, on the 18th of March 1848, a grand spectacle. He saw thousands of people running through the streets and crying: "To arms!" He heard during the night following that day

of that party. In the editorial sanctum of the "Volkszeitung" he may be seen, in his shirt sleeves, day after day, wielding his powerful pen in the interests of the proletariat. Like Hanford he claims that Socialism has done a great deal of good to him. He says it has kept him young, because it has given an aim to his life. A few months ago the Socialists of New York celebrated his 70th birthday. In an article which Jonas wrote to thank his friends and comrades for their many expressions of love and affection, he closed with these characteristic words:

"A new generation has grown up. Their task is to adhere to and further develop what has been achieved by untold sacrifices. And that cannot be too difficult. For to Socialism belongs the future!"

Comrade Kraft of New Jersey never said a better thing than when in a letter of congratulation to comrade Jonas he wrote: "Long may Jonas live and cause a stomachache to the capitalist whale."



Alexander Jonas

the noise of the battle that was being fought by the people against the army of the Prussian king. And when the next morning brought the good news of the people's victory, nobody was more delighted than that boy, who vowed to himself that he would always help to fight the battle for Freedom.

It 1867, almost 40 years ago, Jonas was chairman of the first great meeting that the Social Democracy held in the city of Berlin. On that occasion Bebel, who is still in the thick of the fight, and Liebknecht, the well-beloved, spoke for the first time to the Berlin proletariat, which in those days still followed in the wake of the Liberal party, but today, more than 200,000 voters strong, constitutes one of the great armies of the international Socialist movement.

A few years later Jonas came to the United States. Twenty-six years ago he helped establish the "New York Volkszeitung", a German Socialist daily newspaper. For a long time he was the editor in chief



ALEXANDER JONAS—Appeal to Reason



## THE COMRADE

### SOCIALISTS AND THE WAR



A fierce snowman prior to the war  
—Simplicissimus

"It is our business to accuse the Russian government, and to do all in our power to injure it."

With these words the "N. Y. Volkszeitung", the German Socialist Daily, closes an article on the attitude of the Socialists towards the war between Russia and Japan. The German organ quotes approvingly the utterances of London "Justice," expressing astonishment at the attitude of certain radicals who favor Russia, and then goes on to say:

"In the May issue of 'The Comrade' we find in a prominent place an article by 'Julian,' who sets himself the task to prove that in this war we should wish success to Russia. The reasons for this position are very poor, most of them being of a weakly sentimental kind, as for instance that it were the Russians who defended European civilization against the Tartars and Mongolians, and that the Cossacks are not wild hordes, but peaceful peasants. As if these and similar arguments had anything to do with the question!

"The only argument by which 'Julian' places himself upon the ground of practical politics is the one which he takes over from the Russian and other capitalists and according to which Russia needs a port on the Pacific, since the economic development of Siberia demands it. The 'Socialist' position, of 'Julian' is distinguished by the remark that Russia would have to go to war for the acquisition of such a port, even after it had become a Socialist republic.

"Such arguments, lacking clearness and decision, should, of course, not be taken too seriously. But we must not let them pass unchallenged, lest there may arise the opinion that the Social Democracy of all countries harbors, with regard to official Russia and its Czarism, any other conviction but that of the necessity of an inexorable and incessant struggle against the despotic Moscovism."

"Le Mouvement Socialiste," of Paris, contains a series of articles of noted comrades from Italy, England, Germany, Holland, Belgium and other countries, on the position of international Socialism towards the Russo-Japanese war. They all culminate in the view that a victory by Japan would prove a death-blow to the strongest reactionary power of the world, czarism—the victory of which would mean a horrible menace to the fighting proletariat, not only of Russia, but of all the world."

### The Might of Russia

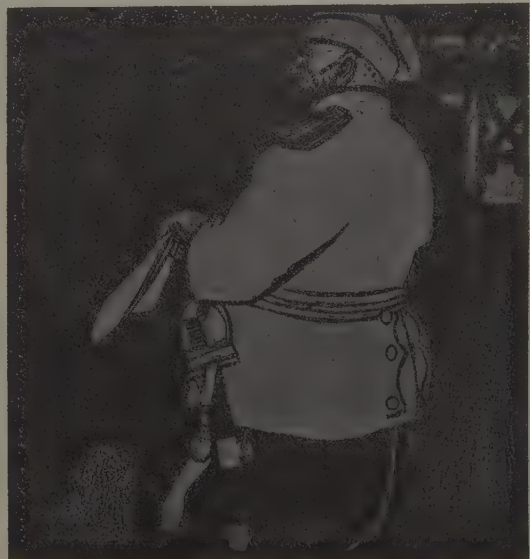


He begins to melt three months later  
—Simplicissimus



Russia's uncomfortable position

—L'Asino (Rome)



Siberian Volunteers

By the grace of the Czar you will be permitted to die for your country. During the battle we will take your chains off.

—Simplicissimus (Munich)



# The Australian Labor Ministry

Those who had hazy ideas about the ability of workmen to govern, i. e., to participate in the ordinary work of a highly organized government, must have felt a great shock when they read in their daily newspapers that Australia has suddenly fallen into the hands of a Labor Ministry. That the Ministry in far away Australia is composed of laboring men there is not the slightest doubt. The Premier is no other than the leader of the Australian Labor Party, Mr. Watson. The other members of the ministry are:

Minister for External Affairs ..... Mr. Hughes.  
 Attorney-General ..... Mr. Higgins.  
 Minister for Home Affairs ..... Hon. E. L. Batchelor.  
 Minister for Trade and Customs ..... Mr. Fisher.  
 Minister for Defense ..... Mr. Dawson.  
 Postmaster-General ..... Mr. Mahon.  
 Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council  
 (without portfolio) ..... Mr. McGregor.

The Attorney-General, Mr. Higgins, is the only one in this unique ministry who does not belong to the Labor Party. He belongs to the Liberals.

The Australian Labor Party is not something new. There is a history behind it. According to the "Labor Leader" (London, England), it owes its origin to the failure of an attempt at a universal strike fifteen years ago. An attempt was then made to suspend all the machinery of production and distribution, as a drastic method of compelling public attention to the inequality and injustice of the social system. Reform by violence having proved a failure, the leaders of the Labor movement decided to try reform by constitutional methods. This was not difficult in a country where every member of Parliament is paid a salary sufficient to provide a living wage, and where every citizen of twenty-one years of age has a vote.

"The aims of the Labor Party are to secure the transference of a larger share of the burdens of taxation to landed estates upon which unearned increments of value are accruing; to free the food supplies, raw materials, tools of trade and other necessities of the working classes, as much as possible from taxation; to provide cheap land and cheap money for the purpose of settlement and agricultural development by small freeholders; to nationalise most of the principal works of public utility, such as railroads, tramways, lighting, water supply, sanitation, coal mines, mail steamship services, etc. Some of these reforms have already been effected."

From this it is clear that the Labor Party in Australia does not take the place of a Socialist Party. In fact, there exists a separate Socialist Party, with which this Labor Party is not on a friendly footing. This can be seen from the fact that according to the report of a New York paper, the Labor Party caused a law to be passed whereby severe financial sacrifice is imposed upon the Socialist Party before it can appear on the field with its candidates. However, as the matter stands, the great majority of non-Socialists and even many Socialists are under the impression that Socialists are in control of the Australian government, which is very far from the true state of affairs.

After the last federal election in Australia the composition of the various political parties was as follows:

House of Representatives:	
Ministerials (Protectionists), 26.	
Opposition (Free-Traders), 27.	
Labor Party, 22.	
Senate:	
Ministerial ..... 8	
Opposition ..... 14	
Labor Party ..... 14	

The programs of the different parties and the significance of the sudden ascendancy of the Labor Party, a minority, to the dignity and responsibility of a ministerial (government) party is clearly explained by the "Vorwaerts," the official organ of the Social Democrats of Germany, as follows:

"The protectionists in general favor labor legislation; the free traders are liberal individualists, who, of course, expect very little from the development of government activity, while the labor party endeavors to promote Socialism. The labor party, which is of most interest to us, has only one point in common with the social democracy: both demand an improvement of the conditions of labor, but they differ in their final objects and general views. The Australian labor party has come to the conclusion that the methods of English trades unionism and the social revolutionism of European Socialism are not suitable for Australia. It therefore, has adopted trades unionism and the political tactics of European Socialism, to which it has added the ideals and demands emanating from Australian life.

"On the program concerning the elections in December, published by Mr. Watson, as president, and Mr. Stewart, as secretary of the labor party, the following appear as the two leading principles:

1st. The conservation of Australia for the best elements of the white race.

2d. The obtainment of satisfactory conditions of life for the masses.

These are the gauges by which all the demands of the labor party are measured; of Socialism and the class struggle there is not and cannot be any thought in them.

"The Australian labor party does not presume to transform the present society into a Socialistic one, but rather to call into life an Australian nation, which should be a representative of the best Anglo-Saxon virtues. It therefore takes from Socialistic criticism only that which is directed against the suppression of the individual and the oppression of the masses, like the tyranny of capital, concentrated in a few hands, the harsh profit system, etc.

"They are not Socialistic experiments, as commonly supposed, but national experiments, which concern Australia; it is the rise of a national democracy and not a Socialistic regeneration of an old society which takes place. This seems to me to be the meaning of contemporary Australian history.

The Australian labor party is imbued with this idea and only when this is understood, an understanding of the politics of this party may be reached; when viewed in any other way it appears like a great contradiction.

The Socialists are dissatisfied, claiming this idea to be narrow, bourgeois, and of racial pride; the capitalists are dissatisfied, claiming it rewards or makes impossible boundless competition, cheap labor and the rapid augmentation of population.

After the above, the fact that the labor party stands nearer to the protectionists than to the free traders, does not require an explanation.

"In the first federal parliament of 1901—3—as is generally known, the federation of the Australian colonies took place only in 1900—the protectionists ruled; they formed the first cabinet of the Australian commonwealth and are therefore called the government party. The elections of December 16th did not result in an absolute majority for any of the three parties and the protectionists remained in power for the reason that the labor party mainly is also in favor of protection. Thus the principle of protection was in the majority.

But on questions of social politics these two parties do not agree. The protectionists do not look as far ahead as the labor men. One of the principal demands of the Australian labor party is the introduction of compulsory arbitration courts. The government party favored the labor party only in so far as private enterprises are concerned, agreeing to the establishment of arbitration and conciliation offices for the prevention of strikes in such cases only, but opposing any change as to the present conditions of the laborers employed by the State.

"This difference of opinion resulted in a cabinet crisis on April 20th. The bill regarding arbitration courts was in debate and the labor party proposed an amendment, including within its provisions the laborers of the State; but as the government declared the amendment unacceptable, the labor representatives united with a part of the opposition and defeated the government with thirty-eight votes as against twenty-nine. Upon that the cabinet resigned and General Governor Lord Northcote invited Mr. Watson leader of the labor party to form a cabinet.

"On April 26th Watson succeeded in forming a ministry, composed of seven labor representatives and one liberal lawyer.

"The new cabinet stands unique in the parliamentary history of the civilized world. It is a genuine workingmen's cabinet. Still it is difficult to say, if it was good policy on the part of Watson to form a cabinet without commanding a majority in the federal parliament. It is not impossible that the crisis and the ready support of Watson by the opposition, was nothing but a trick, planned by the two bourgeois parties, in order to demonstrate to the public the impossibility of a labor cabinet. The fact that none of the bourgeois leaders was willing to enter the labor cabinet seems to favor this view. It should be remembered that the two bourgeois parties have fifty-three representatives in parliament as against twenty-two supporters of the cabinet. They are enabled therefore to unseat the government at any time.

"Still the Australian labor leaders may be supposed to be clear as to the situation. If in spite of it, they have undertaken the formation of a cabinet, they must have gained the conviction that they will be permitted to at least bring into force an arbitration court law and perhaps also an old-age pension law.

A long lease of life cannot be prophesied for the labor government. The cabinet will do its best to prove the ability of the workingmen to govern and then there will be a dissolution of parliament and new elections. The labor party will then appeal to the country for a solid majority.



# Socialism and Foreign Politics

By H. Quelch



ONE of the most interesting discussions at the Easter Conference of the S. D. F. at Burnley was that on Socialism and Foreign Policy. And the subject is not more interesting than important. It is too often assumed that one of the chief drawbacks to a working-class political party is that it knows and can know nothing of foreign politics. Foreign affairs are a domain of politics of which the working class are entirely ignorant, and which must, therefore, be left to their "betters" to manage. This view of our opponents finds, unfortunately, much support in the phrases and sentiments expressed by our friends. Thus we hear of "Labor Politics" and of a "Labor Party" being united on "Labor questions," and divided on matters of general politics. As if all politics were not "Labor politics." Whoever heard of any special set of political questions being referred to as "capitalist politics" or "capitalist questions"? The interests of the capitalist class are bound up with the whole range of modern politics, and so, also, to precisely the same extent, are the interests of the working class. There is no question of modern politics in which the interests of the working-class are not involved, and on which a class-conscious workers' party should not be able to take up a definite position. Yet many who should take a broader view, resent any working-class intrusion into certain domains of politics, and when, in recent years, the Trades Union Congress passed a resolution against the South African war, it was admonished by a jingo Liberal newspaper that it had much better confine its attention to the discussion of "labor questions." As if the war were not a "labor question" of the first magnitude! It may be true that the working class know little about foreign politics. That is their misfortune, and they have had to suffer for their ignorance. They have been made the tools and cat's-paws of intriguers and diplomatists; "monarchs and statesmen"; financiers and filibusters. But that is no reason whatever why they should always remain in ignorance, always be taught that foreign politics are "taboo" to them, that they have nothing to do with them except to honor the promissory notes in the shape of secret treaties entered into by their Governments without their knowledge or consent.

Socialism has been described as "bread and butter politics," and it may be that Socialism, like charity, should begin at home. But Socialism is not parochialism, it is internationalism. Capital is international; Labor must be international, too. Socialism, as the political expression of the working-class movement, is international. It is the one international political party; the one party which is the same in all countries; which ignores the divisions of frontiers, and knows nothing of the differences of race, color, or creed. The Socialist Party, therefore, in every country should be foremost in a knowledge of foreign affairs, and through that party, as its political expression, the working class should not only have an interest in foreign politics, but should also be agreed on the fundamental principles of a foreign, or rather international policy. Naturally and necessarily there will from time to time arise differences as to what this policy should be in relation to certain contingencies, and these are properly the subjects of discussion at international congresses. As to what the general principles should be there can be very little doubt, and although here and there individuals, influenced by national prejudice, jingo sentiment, or the glamor of imperialism may differ from the general body, the opinion of the great majority of the International Socialist Party on vital points is clear and decisive.

International Socialism does not stand for suppression or repression, no more of the nationality than of the individual. Just as there are those who imagine Socialism to be a cast-iron system in which all individuality is to be destroyed, so there are those who regard internationalism as a sort of gigantic steam roller, which will not only crush out all barriers between nations, but will also obliterate all national autonomy and destroy all race characteristics. The one conclusion is no more correct than the other. Only under Socialism, a system in which all the material resources of nature and of society are owned and controlled by all for the benefit of all, will there be free play for the full development of individuality. Under present conditions the average man is an absolute slave to circumstances over which he has no control whatever. The life of the workman, in almost every detail—when he shall rise from his bed, and when retire to rest; when go to work, and when have his meals; the kind of food he shall eat and the sort of place he shall sleep in—is determined for him by others. He has to work for these others, and all he gets in return for his work is sufficient to keep him alive to go on working. No opportunity for him to develop his individuality. Even for the more fortunate the opportunity is not great, circumscribed as they are by the conventions which divide society into toilers and idlers. But under Socialism all this will be changed; there will be neither toilers nor idlers. Each will have to do his or her share of the necessary work of the world, and each will have ample leisure and opportunity for individual recreation and development. So, too, with nations. International Socialism does not

mean the obliteration of national autonomy and the crushing-out of national characteristics. Socialism stands for democracy, not imperialism. In foreign politics, therefore, the Socialists uphold the old Liberal tradition of the rights of the little peoples, of the smaller nations, a tradition which modern Liberals appear to have surrendered to the exigencies of the new imperialism. Socialism stands for freedom and against domination, for the right of every nation to manage its own affairs and to work out its own destiny. Socialism no more means the subjection of a race than it means the subjection of the individual. On the contrary, Socialism fights against race subjection as one of the means by which the present class subjection may be prolonged. The International Socialist movement, therefore, is opposed to imperialism and to capitalist expansion. It does not accept the erroneous view put forward by some that because the development of capitalism is essential to the evolution of Socialism, therefore capitalist expansion is equally necessary. It may be necessary for some nation or nations to pass through all the stages of human development, but that it is not necessary for all to do so is demonstrated by the fact that backward nations now coming into line with those more advanced, would not pass through the intervening stages, but would adopt the most fully developed form. In their imitation of Western nations, even in the arts of war, for instance, the Japanese did not first adopt wooden ships, muzzle-loading cannon and flint-lock muskets. They have adopted the most modern form of arms and ships of war. If it is possible for a nation to come into the present stage of civilization without passing through the intervening stages, it is equally possible for a nation to enter on a still higher stage without passing through the present. We may hope, therefore, that to many will be spared the horrors and sufferings of the capitalist system, and for that reason, if for no other, we should oppose all expansionist schemes.

But capitalist expansion means not only the increase of the area of capitalist exploitation, it means a possible extension of the capitalist era. The restriction of markets must involve the collapse of capitalism, their extension may give it a new lease of life. Moreover, capitalist expansion involves race domination and the degradation of other races to the position of a race proletariat. This is one of the most serious consequences of imperialist-capitalist expansion which we may have to face in the near future; and this is another of the many reasons why Socialists should uphold the rights of the so-called subject races, as well as of the small nationalities, and oppose capitalist expansion in all its forms.

The foreign policy, the international policy, of the Socialist Party has for its object the promotion of peace and goodwill among the workers of the world; not by the suppression of national autonomy, but by the promotion of national liberty. Its foreign policy is the same as its home policy; both together having for object the overthrow of capitalist domination, and the emancipation of humanity. At home and abroad, Socialism stands for the same principles. Individual rights safeguarded in the common interest and individual duties demanded for the common good. In things individual, individualism; in things municipal, municipalism; in things national, nationalism; and in things international, internationalism. The free combination of individuals in every community for the general well-being, and the free democratic federation of free nations in international Social Democracy.

*The Social Democrat*

## THE MILLIONAIRE AND THE MULE

By Morrison I. Swift



WELL-KNOWN New York clergyman recently appealed to Labor and Capital to get together, saying that in the near future they must and will learn to settle their disputes by arbitration. This is the opinion of very many rich who sit in the seats of comfort and know that Jehovah built America as a second Garden of Eden for them alone, having killed off all the tempting serpents and anodyned the rest of the population.

This idea of arbitration resembles an exchange of civilities which took place between a mule and his master.

"Let us arbitrate," said the master.

"Why?" said the mule.

"Because when you kick and strike you break my wagon."

"How shall we arbitrate?" asked the mule.

"If you'll kick less I'll whip you less," answered the master.

"Will you give me my freedom?" cried the mule.

"Oh no," smiled the master. "We're not going to arbitrate that; we're going to arbitrate your whippings. It'll be a great thing for you if you can arbitrate a few of my drubbings off of your back—which I'll consent to in order to escape your back-ankle flyers at my cart."

"Ah!" said the mule. "And I must work for you just as before."

"Just as before," said the master—"that's why a mule's made."



# Kautsky on the Problem of the Jewish Proletariat



ARL KAUTSKY, the most renowned of all living Socialist writers, has sent a remarkable utterance regarding the Jewish proletariat to the Jewish "Neue Zeit," London. What he says has perhaps just as much bearing upon American conditions, as upon those prevailing in England. The article follows in full:

"There is no doubt that, owing to their distinctive moral and intellectual qualities and unique social position, the Jews play an important part in the Socialist movement. Without necessarily belonging to the school of thought which explains all historical events by the racial properties of the peoples, that is, which explains every social development in any race by the bodily organization of the individuals composing it, one may still recognize the fact that each nation displays its particular spiritual and physical properties, though it is impossible to clearly define which of these properties originate in the inherited bodily organization of the individuals composing the race and which of them have been acquired through the various influences of society that have affected it through thousands of years.

"And thus also the Jewish race possesses its distinctive spiritual physiognomy, though it is not possible to decide how much of it has been inherited from the older generation of Jews (who were themselves a product of the intermingling of many races) and how much is due to the social influences to which the Jews have been subjected throughout their history.

"It is enough to point out that the Jewish race does possess its own spiritual physiognomy, which finds its expression in a splendid power of abstraction and a keen critical intellect.

"It is owing to this that the Jews, since the time they have entered into European civilization, have given to the world more great thinkers than, in proportion to their numbers, perhaps any other nation, and the names of Spinoza, Ricardo and Marx form epochs in the history of human thought.

"But since the Jews, from the time they have ceased to be an independent nation, have always, on the whole, belonged to the down-trodden classes, they have applied their power of abstraction and critical abilities more particularly to the service of revolutionary thought. Because of this they have become very important to the proletarian movement of every country, but no movement, perhaps, needs them as much as does the English. For the Anglo-Saxon proletariat, more than any other, lacks those intellectual qualities which make of the unconscious class warrior a conscious Socialist, and make him thus independent of the bourgeoisie in his thinking as well as in his social and political action. And these are the necessary conditions for his social emancipation. The English proletarian lacks, more than any other, the power of abstraction and deep-reaching criticism, and he is satisfied with so-called 'practical politics,' and is proud of the fact that he can see no further than his nose.

"The Jewish proletariat possesses that which the English lacks. Nothing can be so beneficial as the intermingling of the qualities of both—the union of the Anglo-Saxon vigor and love of freedom with the speculative and critical power of the Jews. If the Jewish pro-

letarians in England should develop a strong Socialist movement they will work, not only for themselves, but also for the whole of the proletarian movement in England, for which, indeed, they will become a sort of yeast.

"Poor, ignorant, oppressed, without knowledge of the language of the land, they come from Russia to England and fall an easy prey in the hands of the worst exploiters. But he need not live long in England, before the Jew organizes. He takes up the struggle against his exploiters, he raises himself to the highest form of the proletarian class war—to Socialism—and thus he who on his arrival has been looked upon as one to lower the rate of wages, becomes a warrior in the front ranks, and shows the English worker by a practical example that the theory of Socialism can well combine with the struggle for immediate needs—higher wages and the shortening of the working day. He shows him that Socialist thinking is not only not an obstacle to real practical working-class politics, but is, on the contrary, the very best means of attaining it.

"Giving thus a splendid practical education in Socialism (not as school-masters, but as comrades) to the English workers, the Jewish proletarians effect for Socialism a greater propaganda than could have been done by any number of theoretical speeches or writings.

"To this not-too-easy task of the Jewish proletariat in England, another may be added. Though becoming a part of the English proletariat, they still remain closely related to the Russian. Russia—that is, the Russian autocracy—is the great opponent of all free movements, and every proletarian or Socialist movement which is not an enemy of the Russian autocracy is a traitor to the proletariat, to freedom, and to humanity.

"One must not be lulled by the phrases of universal peace, as some French and English ideologists love to be. None are warmer friends of peace than Social Democrats, but the way to universal peace lies over the corpse of Russian absolutism. This absolutism must be crushed before a long continued peace is possible. And for this reason, in the interests of peace, we call for a war against the Russian Czar.

"Every weakening of Czarism spells the strengthening of the international proletarian movement, and *vice versa* every strengthening of the international proletarian movement spells the weakening of Czarism.

"And if this be true of every proletarian movement out of Russia, it is more so of the Jewish.

"The Jewish working-class movement, as such, and because of its relations with the movement in Russia, stands in sharper conflict to Russian absolutism than any other working-class movement out of Russia. The Jewish proletariat of Russia in particular and the Russian proletariat in general cannot but gain and be strengthened by the growth of the Socialist movement among the Jewish working classes in England, because the latter will not fail to lend a helping hand to their comrades in Russia.

"And thus the Socialist movement of the Jewish working class in England attains a double importance far above its immediate ranks: it is important both for the struggle against Czarism and the Socialist propaganda among the English proletariat. It becomes of importance not merely as an exclusively Jewish movement, but as a part of the great class-war of the proletarians of all countries and races."



## GOOD-BYE AND HAIL

With the last issue my connection with "The Comrade" as Editor ceased and the present issue appears under a new editorial direction. Owing to the intervention of the National Convention and other circumstances which unduly delayed its appearance, I could not say the word of Farewell in the last issue which seemed to me desirable and necessary. By the courtesy of the present Editor I am enabled to do so here and to express my gratitude to all those whose kindly help and comradely encouragement have made my association with "The Comrade" a pleasant memory.

While the task of editing "The Comrade" has been attended with many cares, and not a few disappointments, I freely and gladly acknowledge that I have gained much of inspiration and faith through the associations which it has brought. Most of my own work in it has been written under circumstances of stress and care which have resulted in impaired health and the need of prolonged rest. There-

fore, I must say Good-bye and leave the task to other and, I hope, stronger hands.

I cannot close this parting word without expressing my appreciation of the splendid devotion and courage with which the good comrades who are responsible for the existence of the paper and for its business management have faced the great, and at times almost insurmountable obstacles which have beset its path. Few can know as I do the enormous difficulties by which they have been, and are, continually confronted. I venture to hope that all who have grown to love "The Comrade", and to feel the value of it, will rally to the support of these brave comrades whose unwearied efforts and heroic sacrifices have sustained it thus far.

So here's Good-bye to you, comrades, and to our "Comrade"—Good-bye and Hail to all!

JOHN SPARGO.



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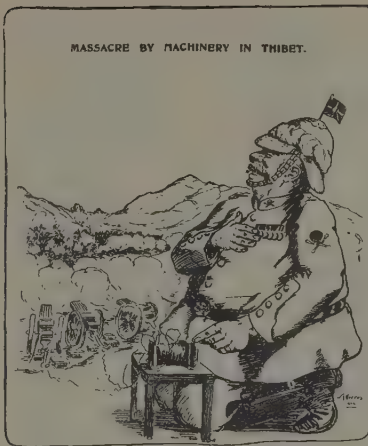
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—Justice

### British Brigandage

As might have been anticipated, the so-called "peaceful mission" into Thibet has resulted in bloodshed and massacre. It was from the first a wanton act of aggression which could not but be mischievous in any event. It is proved to be bloodthirsty and horrible. No more terrible scene of carnage has been perpetrated in recent times than that which took place at Hot Spring on March 31 last. Here was a mass of men, ignorant of the modern art of war and of the destructiveness of modern firearms, yet determined to bar the way, even at the sacrifice of their lives, against the invader. And their lives were sacrificed. Like helpless cattle in the shambles, they were relentlessly butchered where they stood; and even when the shattered remnant turned and slowly retreated, their ranks were torn into with bullet and shrapnel, until all were either dead or wounded. It was an infamous business from beginning to end, and yet an inevitable consequence of a wanton act of aggression which should never have been entered upon, and against which we protested from the first. We have no business whatever in Thibet, and this mission was simply a manifestation of that brigandage which appears in recent years to have become our chief attribute. The "punitive" expedition into Nigeria is another display of the same quality. It is satisfactory to note that it met with a somewhat warmer reception than did the peaceful mission in Thibet.

Social Democrat London.

## Books Received

**HOW TO LIVE FOREVER.** By Harry Gaze. 200 pages; Cloth; \$1.25. Stockham Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.

**AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY.** By Herbert Spencer. Illustrated; two volumes; 654 and 612 pages; \$5.50 net. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

**THAT HAPPENED TO DAN.** By Kate Richards O'Hare. 64 pages; 10 cents.

**HIGHER LESSONS IN SOCIALIZATION.** By Charles Lincoln Phifer. 44 pages; 25 cts. Push Printing House, Rich Hill, Mo.

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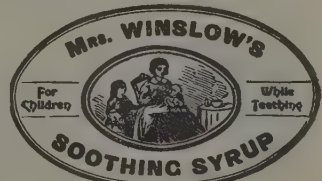
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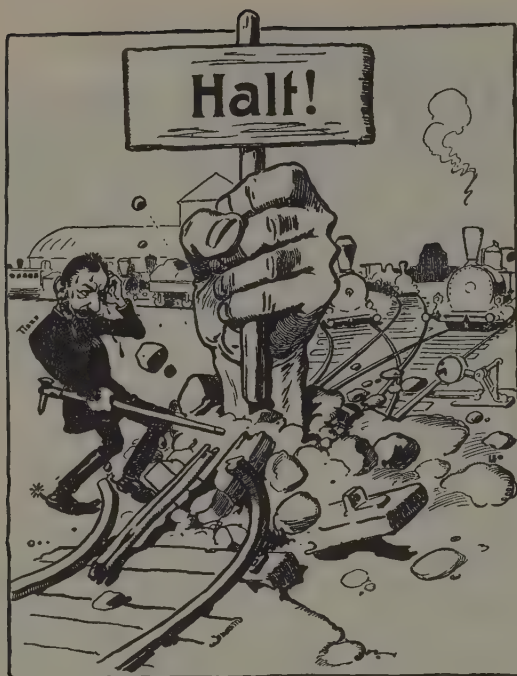
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—Der Wahre Jacob (Stuttgart)

## The Hungarian Railroad Strike



FOR years the employees of the Hungarian railroads have been dissatisfied with the treatment and the wages they received. On the evening of April 19 a strike was declared, and at noon of the following day about 60,000 men, constituting the greater part of the Hungarian railroad personnel, were idle. Most of the Hungarian railroads are state property.

Long before the strike the government had been petitioned by the railroaders for an increase of their entirely insufficient remuneration. On the sixteenth of April the government brought a bill before parliament, increasing the total wage budget of all the railroad employees by about \$1,500,000 per year. The railway employees considered this ridiculously small increase a mockery of their just demands, and decided to hold a convention and insist upon better terms. The government enjoined them from holding the convention and at the same time asked the directors of the Technical High School whether they could select from among the students a sufficient number of men able to take the place of the locomotive engineers. That same night the employees of the trains running into Budapest struck, and a few hours later all the roads came to a standstill.

From the start the solidarity prevailing among the employees was remarkable. All hands joined in the strike, even the officials, engineers and station masters. For a while the government seemed helpless. But it soon found a way out of the difficulties that beset it. It mobilized the army; and as all of the men belonged to the reserve of the army, they were called to arms and ordered, as soldiers, to run the trains, or be court martialed. This, of course, broke the strike immediately.

The organs of the "law and order" fraternity are overjoyed at the "heroic measures" adopted by Premier Tisza, whom the Socialist Deputy Ellenbogen characterized in the Austrian Parliament as a "born

criminal." Tisza is now preparing a bill that will simply make strikes of this nature unlawful. The newspapers that dare to protest against his high-handed measures have, in true Russian fashion, been warned that they risk being suppressed if they continue to say what may hurt the feelings of Tisza's cabinet. In the Austrian Parliament the Deputy Eldersch branded Tisza as a scoundrel and Deputy Ellenbogen asked the president, whether the emperor could afford to sit down to dinner with a man who, from head to foot, is steeped in shame and blood. Says London "Justice":

"The defeat of the Hungarian railway workers may, indeed, be described as a moral triumph for the men, since rarely has a government in the pursuit of its aim been induced to fly more flagrantly in the teeth of its own laws. In the most brazen-faced manner the Hungarian government has shown to the people that they do not care a rap for the rights which the law guarantees to them, and that with them the only principle which prevails is 'might is right.' Be that as it may—the flagrant violation of the law involved in the militarization of the Hungarian railways is a good instance of the state of mind of the ruling classes. It was no question how far the men were right or wrong, but—suppression at the cost of all law and all right; and this policy meets with the approval of Radical papers in Germany. And yet comrades question the reality of the class war and talk about the solidarity of classes. It may be added that the railway men in Hungary were no Social Democrats, but loyal supporters of the throne and that the last congress of the union had been opened with a 'hoch' for the Kaiser. And now the men see their reward. The 'hoch' for the Kaiser will not recur. Franz Joseph's government has destroyed the superstition of a benevolent emperor."

The "New York Volkszeitung," reviewing the strike, says that the way it was handled by the Hungarian government, may well teach a lesson to those Socialists who see in every industry, run by the state, a step towards Socialism. It reminds its readers of the fact that some time ago Italy used the trick, now employed by the Hungarian capitalist government, to subdue its striking railroaders:

"The taking over by the state of some industries does not by any means give to that state a Socialist character. Real Socialism necessitates the doing away with wage labor, the taking over of the means of production by the working class. The possession of railroads and others means of communication and production confers upon the state a state capitalistic, not a state Socialistic character; and this is the reason why such a state, when its workers strike, treats them according to capitalistic principles."



The Czar (to the Mikado): As long as they fight each other our jobs are safe.





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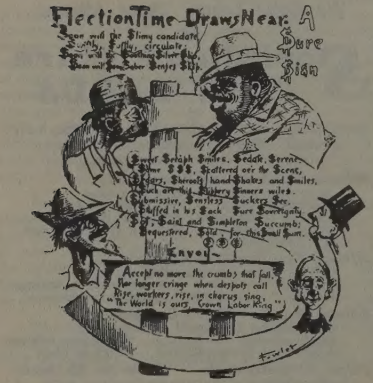
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—Jugend

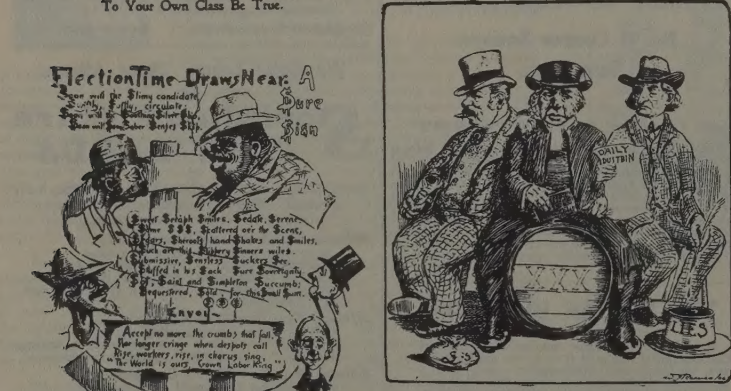
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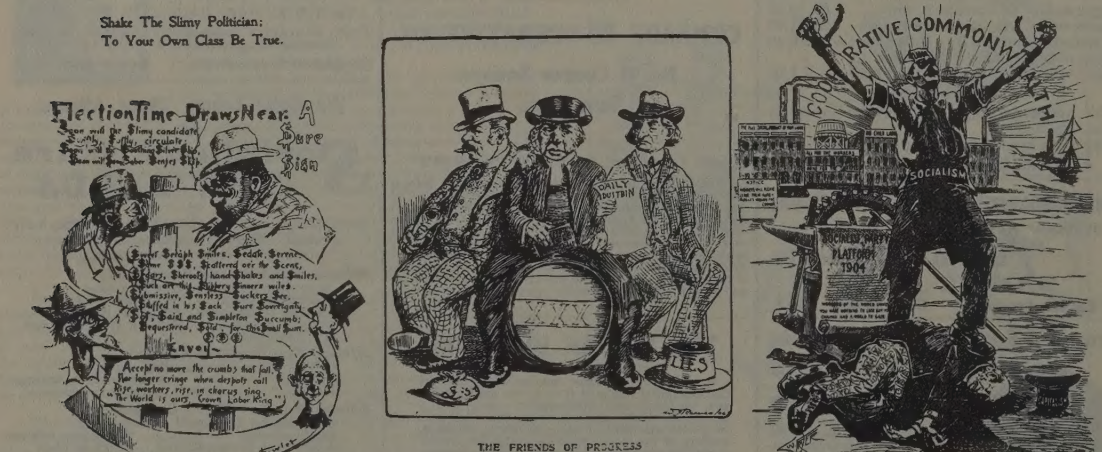


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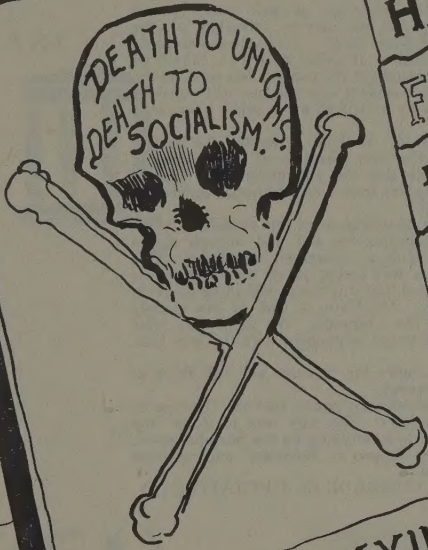


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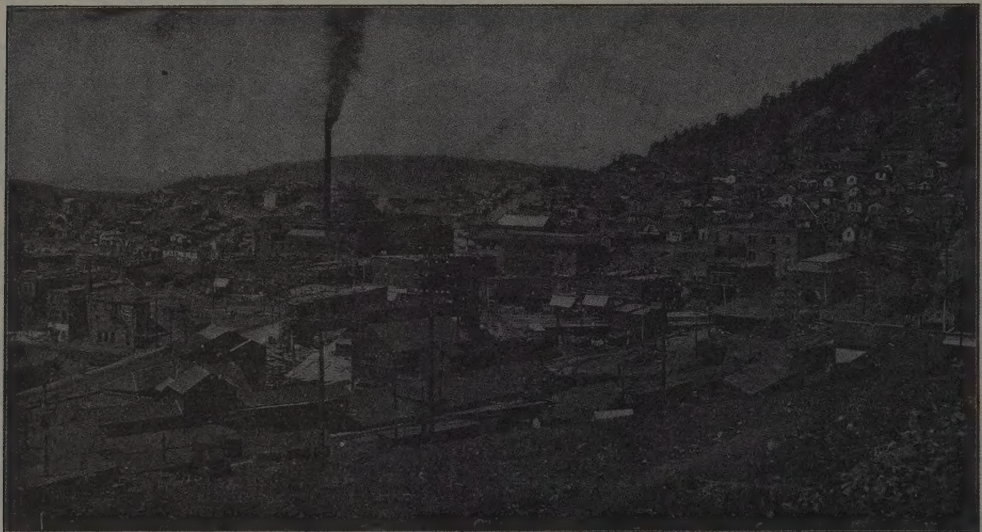
The June issue of The Comrade has been well received. Without exception, the friends of The Comrade have expressed their satisfaction with the new features of the magazine. Agents who have handled The Comrade for years write that the publication now appeals much more to the Socialists than formerly. Several agents have sent additional orders for the June issue, so that the edition is now exhausted.

To make The Comrade what we desire it to be, the co-operation of our readers is absolutely necessary. If every reader sends us a new subscriber, he will find himself amply repaid by the improvement we are enabled to make with an increased circulation. Our friends should take notice that for the next few weeks we will accept yearly subscriptions at the low price of 50 cents. If you will but try you will find that it is the easiest thing on earth to raise a club of five subscribers for the new Comrade. Mind you, a club of five is only \$2.00. This price does not cover the cost of printing The Comrade. We make this offer for a limited time, in order to give Socialists a chance to get acquainted with the new features of the magazine.

This issue is excellent for propaganda. Get five copies for 30 cents and sell them at your meetings or distribute them among your acquaintances.

The other day a Socialist complained to one of the Socialist papers that the "Review of Reviews," a capitalist magazine, has no space for Socialism. The only way to force the capitalist press to pay more attention to our movement is by building up the Socialist press. It is our aim to make The Comrade a great "Socialist Review of Reviews," and we hope we will have the help of all comrades to realize our ideal.

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